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The Cape Town Free Walking Tours: Whose History Is It Anyway?

The shaping of place and space in a tourist city

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Abstract

This research focuses on the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* and investigates the importance of the role that tour guides play in mediating space and heritage. Drawing upon literature surrounding tourism, the tourist city, as well as memory and heritage, this study uses a mixed methods approach, both surveying tour participants as well as interviewing tour guides and managers of the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*. In addition, this research also draws from my own experience participating in walking tours and making notes through participant observation. This research shows that tourism spaces are created, curated and maintained through a performance of identities that serves to validate the tourist identity. It shows that it is a complex process of identity creation in relation to the search for authenticity. It also details the important role of the tour guide in mediating heritage and space as well as serving as an ambassador for their host society. Therefore, tour guides themselves are very important in the creation of space and place and can influence the type of tourist city that tourists are exposed to. This research has implications for further understanding the role of tourism in shaping a tourist city as well as the position of the tour guide in shaping the tourist city.

Key words: tourism, Cape Town, Free Walking Tours, heritage, memory, tourist city, history, tour guides

Dedication

I dedicate this research to the memory of my late grandfather, Dr. Edwin Wallace
who always inspired me and taught me to seek out excellence.

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Introduction

The *Free Walking Tours* are an important location of research as it is often offers tourists a preliminary point of contact with some form of history within Cape Town and South Africa at large. Tourism is a prominent part of South Africa's economy, and has grown in the past 10 years to employ one out of every 23 people (4.4%) (STATS SA, 2018). Cities and game parks across South Africa will experience an influx of tourists over the course of the year and as a result tourist routes have become prominent. *The Big Red Bus Tours*, for example, function to serve this purpose and they "operate in more than 90 destinations globally" (About City Sightseeing, n.d.). Large events like The FIFA World Cup in 2010 hosted in South Africa also boosted the tourism sector. Therefore, the importance of tourism has been recognized by the top officials who are prepared to encourage travel and tourism to South Africa in this rapidly globalizing world (Smith, 2017). In this light, tourism in Cape Town is a pertinent and important topic to investigate and expand upon in order further understand the tourist market and how it in turn shapes the tourist city.

The objectives of this research are twofold: Firstly, this study aims to both better understand the historical narrative that is provided by the tour guides within tourist spaces as well as the impact that the narrative has on the tourists that partake in the tours. That being said, this research does not claim to generalize the experience of all tour guides or tour participants, it merely aims to delve deeper into the operations behind the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* and the narratives that one may encounter if partaking in a free walking tour. It specifically sets out to investigate the ways in which tour guides source their historical information and the performance of that information when conducting the tour. Second, this research also aims to gauge the tour participants opinions and reactions to the tour in an effort to understand the tour experience from a participant point of view.

The above objectives seek to understand and investigate the complex threads of different historical narrative woven within the tourism industry in South Africa. Its focus, more narrowly defined, will particularly concentrate on the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* conducted in the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD). The *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* function as a purely tips-based company that runs three times a day and operates 365 days a year in the heart of the city. Each tour, spanning roughly an hour and a half, offers five different routes around the city. Tourists are guided around the city on foot to see certain sights and orient themselves in a more intimate setting to some of Cape Town's history that might otherwise go unseen. The tours are free, and tour guides are compensated through tips

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given by participants once the tour has ended. The tours offered are as follows: Historic Tour, Apartheid to Freedom Tour, Bo-Kaap Tour, Jewellery & Diamond Tour, and a Taste of Cape Town Tour. Guides will generally alternate between tours, thus most guides will have experience leading all five of the tours. During each tour, the guides are given the freedom to construct and communicate their own version of a historical script. Therefore, the concepts that will frame this argument throughout this paper will include the major tropes of tourism and the tourist city, heritage and/or memory, as well as branding of space and place.

The layout of this paper includes a critical review of the relevant literature surrounding this topic in order to place it in a larger framework of previous research, a breakdown of the methodology, as well as the research findings which will be further elaborated through the discussion and analysis sections. Following that, a conclusion will sum up the study.

Framing the tourist city: memory, heritage, and place-making

Tourism, being such a large portion of the attraction to Cape Town, significantly influences the creation of space and the narratives told within that space. The city itself is a potential hub of tourism and the ways that the influx of thousands of tourists per annum impacts the way that the city is seen as well as created. As the city is moulded and created in a tourist-friendly image, there are multiple factors to consider. The city is shaped by branding within the tourism industry as well as the narratives presented. As well as this, those within the city act as hosts and perform their role as mediators between tourists and the host city, thus confirming the tourist identity as well as establishing their own. This study is focused on the ways that tourism creates a tourist city (and vice versa) as well as the heritage and memory preserved in a tourist city. It also critically examines the consumption of place and space and how that impacts place-making.

Tourism and the Tourist City

Through the media and means of communication, images of place/country/city are created and imagined through specific advertisements of space. In this way, places ultimately create a 'brand' for themselves. Marketing certain aspects of a place/country/city serves to reinforce brands and it becomes synonymous with a certain place. The tourist city can be branded in a very particular light in order to portray a particularly attractive side of a city creating a sense of enthrallment and excitement. Branding of

place is touched upon by Vivian Bickford-Smith (2009) and the ways that tourist locations are created through different types of media and then become publicly seen worldwide as specific representations. Tourist destinations are confronted by the challenge of advertising their sights and attractions as being unique and distinguishable in order to successfully create a brand. These signatures of difference entice tourist audiences, making locations desired and almost rare (Bickford-Smith, 2009). Place branding exists globally. One only has to think of the image that first jumps to mind when places like Paris or Egypt are mentioned to realize how deeply branded takes root.

Cape Town is similar with its natural beauty and mountainous regions such as Table Mountain and Lions Head that have created its 'branded' silhouette which has become recognizable worldwide. This kind of branding is what is printed onto fliers and maps and creates a certain space that conjures up images and expectations and in turn influences the ways that people exist within, and consume places (Bickford-Smith, 2009). However, branding is not simply a face-value representation of space. When advertising and promoting places like Cape Town it greatly commodifies the natural beauty as well as the man-made spaces. These skewed affirmative and positive depictions can create particularly dominant images of place. That is not to say that there is not, simultaneously, great commodification of painful or violent heritage. This concept, deemed "dark tourism", (Bickford-Smith, 2009, p. 1776) advertises sites of atrocity that is sold or advertised to tourists as an experience that tourists can visit and coexist between the violent past and the tamed present. For example, sites associated with slavery as well as violent police action and removals during apartheid, just to name a few, are commodified and packaged for consumption to tourists within the city of Cape Town (Bickford-Smith, 2009). The purpose of capitalising on these sites offers an expansion of the boundaries of what is typically considered 'extraordinary' and provides a type of shock value to intrigue certain groups of tourists (Bickford-Smith, 2009).

As well as sites of atrocity, Cape Town was not (and is still not in many regards,) branded "as a Black African destination" (Bickford-Smith, 2009, p. 1771). Up to this day, in an effort to partake in a market economy, the types of frames within which Cape Town is currently positioned are ones of luxury hotels, convention centres, and large shopping arenas (Bickford-Smith, 2009). These frames encourage a view of Cape Town as comparable to other locations of high class and wealth. In this way, the tourism spaces are catered towards a particular class of people who occupy the upper-middle to upper class. Due to the racial history in South Africa, a large number of that demographic are likely to be white South Africans or foreign peoples (Bickford-Smith, 2009). As well as this, many of the historical sites within

South Africa were constructed and supported a “White South African historical narrative” (Bickford-Smith, 2009, p. 1770). These structures additionally provided unity to a White South African identity further excluding other identities within South Africa.

The concept of memorializing all the experiences and viewpoints in post-apartheid South Africa in an attempt to redress all of the injustices that have been committed in the last few centuries is an insurmountable task. South Africa remains a divided country on many aspects and history is one that has resulted in great tension between communities which understand and have experienced different versions of history (Marschall, 2010). Due to the National Heritage Resources Act in 1999 which protected all monuments, the only way to oppose certain histories was to create a counter version of history. This can be most tactfully seen in the presence of Freedom Park that is placed adjacent to the Voortrekker monument in Pretoria. Freedom Park celebrates and memorializes South African culture and the struggle for freedom in a very Afrocentric way. Many other monuments tasked with redressing the past and making the present a more representative landscape for the histories that have gone before, have the intention to “promote inclusive values of racial tolerance and human rights” (Marschall, 2010, p. 36). The importance of memorials in general to a nation is often to create a sense of belonging and as Marschall (2010) puts it “symbolic sites and spaces serve as condensation points” (p. 38) and can offer a sense of unity and shared past. However, as much as memorials can provide a central point of unity, many are also contested due to such a divided community within South Africa.

As outlined within the work of Meskell & Scheermeyer (2008) there were “no removals of statues” after the 1994 elections (p. 154). An example of this is given in Holmes and Loehwing (2016) where the Rhodes statue has an uncomfortably extensive presence throughout Cape Town. It can be found overlooking the city, was located at the University of Cape Town (UCT) campus, in the name of streets as well as in the Company’s Gardens. In this way, the context of the space and the landscape in which these statues are situated is necessary to understanding why specific memorials exist in certain spaces and why other portrayals of history are removed or do not exist.

Almost as a result of this single portrayal of both Cape Town history and its people, tourists recently have begun leaning towards a new view of, as Bickford-Smith (2009) calls it – “‘African’ Cape Town” (p. 1777). This type of tourism seeks out the ‘authentic other’ and in this case, the ‘authentic African’ (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). Within Cape Town, this type of tourism has evolved to take place in townships and alternative housing schemes. Tourists are taken through residential areas in order to

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showcase a more ‘African’ side of Cape Town. Both the ‘dark tourism’ and the types of alternative tours such as township tours link back to the branding of place and space. Images of how ‘authentic Africans’ live, create certain expectations of Africa as a whole and has created a desire and a want for people to visit places like Cape Town and explore places like townships that fit these expectations.

Memory and Heritage

Memory, heritage, and the politics of remembering and forgetting are irrevocably enmeshed with space and place. Public memory within spaces like Cape Town has been shaped and continues to be shaped by the people within as well as beyond the boundaries of certain spaces. The shaping of public memory is an ongoing process that is in flux due to changing circumstances of time, as well as one’s own perspective and understanding of their positionality in society (Legg, 2007). Within this frame, many scholars engage with the subsection of tourism as a way to further explore how memory and presentation of place occurs.

There are various writings on ways of understanding consumption of place and space. Tourist spaces are envisioned and consumed through the particular enactment of roles within spaces. Tour guides are part of this schema and enact their own role within the presentation of space and communicating or ‘mediating’ heritage (Macdonald, 2006). Within tourism, there are factors that are considered throughout the literature that address construction, consumability, and branding of place. When considering all of these concepts within tourism, it is important to keep in mind the history of those places and the way that the past has informed the present (Bickford-Smith, 2009). The past influences the conceptions of place and how they are presented in the current day which in turn informs the positionality of tourists within those spaces. Depending on how one views their positionality, they consume it differently. In a similar way, tour guides are also impacted by how they view their positionality in society and influences their readings of heritage, history and presentation of space.

Due to the constructed nature of tourism sites, the creation of identity is important to consider. Identity creation is especially poignant when entering into prescribed and preconceived spaces such as the tourist city. Del Casino and Hanna (2000) discuss the intertwined nature of identity in relation to tourist maps. Throughout their article, important relations are drawn between maps and how the tourist views themselves in relation to the representational image of the ‘other’. The images conjured up create a certain identity for both the tourist as well as the expected identity of the hosts. Not only are identities created, but they are reinforced by the performance of tourism and tourist spaces as well. The enactment

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of tourist spaces reinforces the preconceived identities that are inscribed onto the tourist and the host 'other' that make prescribed spaces and ideas of space particularly powerful in terms of how tourists consume place (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). However, these are not static identities that exist in space either. The navigation of space by both the tourist and those around them cause a constant shifting and dynamic process of place making (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000).

The constant and changing landscape that is presented to tourists is also one of a staged reality. This is made apparent through tourist's desire to travel to spaces to experience authenticity and an equally 'authentic' other (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). Similar to the township tours presented by Bickford-Smith (2009) the extraordinary is sought out, yet within tourism, it is seen as an authentic extraordinary experience. Del Casino and Hanna (2000) write about the ways that tourist spaces are created and are maintained through a staged act that reinforces the tourist's identity and location in space as well as ensuring experiences are encountered as expected. The sites that are presented in a host destination will be branded as foreign, different and perhaps exotic to the tourist. Therefore, during a tourists' stay within a host society, the consumption of place is shaped by the brands of 'difference'. Preconceived notions of place are important because they already carry a certain value in the tourists' eye before even being experienced. When expectations are met and live up to the pre-determined 'tourist gaze', those particular aspects are consumed and confirm the tourist identity as well as the host society and impact how they experience the rest of the host culture. Tourists are often bounded into certain prescribed spaces deemed 'tourist activities' or 'tourist sights' (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). Within these certain spaces reserved primarily for tourists, it becomes a simple stage act to reveal certain aspects of place and simultaneously veil others. Within these tourist spaces, there is never true authenticity as it is pushed aside to make way for the preconceived expectations to be met rather than the messy everyday lived reality. Where tourists encounter aspects that do not live up to the dominant 'tourist gaze' the tourist encounters a complicated understanding of place and "becomes disillusioned" (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000, p. 27).

Within these tourist spaces, tourists undoubtedly come into contact with sites that mark certain memory and heritage. The depiction of certain tourist sites may only be presented within a dominant reading of place and its history. However, it is important to investigate this since heritage plays a very important role by encouraging a sense of pride within people. Meskell and Scheermeyer (2008) state in their article that heritage can be a mobilizing factor and can be a source of empowerment as well as a site for social justice. They discuss the ways in which the past is continuously being redefined and

rediscovered by different sectors of the public who want to claim it and make it theirs to mobilize around (Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008). The preamble of the 1996 constitution and the bill of rights explicitly state that it recognizes the injustices of the past as well as those who have struggled for the creation of the country that stands today. Therefore, there deserves to be some recognition of the ways in which the legacy of apartheid and colonialism are still inscribed upon the very land which is said to be free of such oppression (Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008).

However, in 1999 there was new legislation put into place regarding the National Heritage Resources which determined all heritage was to be protected under law (Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008). This came as a way to redress the legislation in 1969 that did not recognize or protect much of the heritage of Black¹ South Africans during apartheid (Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008). Therefore, the change to protection for all legislation in 1999, both serves to counter the discriminatory marginalization of one groups heritage, but at the same time, does not allow for the statues and memorials of the past to receive attention or redress their place in the new post-apartheid society.

Tour guiding and place-making

Marschall (2010) describes how “landscapes are always shaped in accordance with the political agendas” (39) and how they are informed by gender, class, and other aspects to create a particular moment in history. In this way, during apartheid, the landscape created was upon racialized lines and defined the spaces upon the movements of Black or white bodies. Within this context, it is important to remember which spaces were reserved solely for white bodies and the spaces that were relegated to Black bodies and the ways in which those spaces still exist today. Cape Town, as a case in point, was regarded as a white area and those who were Black were pushed to the peripheries and into townships. Therefore, in typically and historically white spaces, the landscape that exists will likely be dominated by white monuments and memorials.

The tours and activities that tourists partake in play an important role in shaping and making place. These interactions with space such as on tours and tourist activities are embodiments of tourist space and are ways that tourists come into contact with the area around them. Tour guides, among others, come to understand themselves in relation to tourists as well (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). Additionally, an argument exists that not only is the tour guide’s identity created but tour guides become part of the

¹ The term Black is used to centre the experiences of all of those oppressed under the rule of white oppressors.

performance within tourist spaces (Macdonald, 2006). Not only do tour guides have the challenge of presenting and ‘mediating’ information to tourists, they also have to conduct the mundane work of managing a group (Macdonald, 2006).

However, guides are tasked with being the intermediary between tourists and sites and/or culture which has an impact on how place is experienced. They are important within the study of tourism and how tourists interact within their ‘host’ country. The tour guide often can shape and mould the tourist experience and help construct the preferred ‘tourist gaze’ (Macdonald, 2006). To deeply consider the role of the tour guide one must consider the performance of identity as well as the narrative that they offer to the tourists within the sites and spaces which they occupy. These narratives will often be that of ‘preferred readings’ or dominant narratives (Macdonald, 2006). But rather than thinking of tourists as simply consumers of the provided narrative, Macdonald (2006) poses an alternative. She suggests that tourists are active in the reception of the material presented. In this way tourists have the capability to accept the dominant narrative, question it, or oppose it (Macdonald, 2006). Thus, the creating of place-making is constantly in flux and is driven between the presentation of information by the tour guide as well as the reception of information by the tourist.

As previously touched on, the narrative that tour guides provide is important in the construction of place as well as implementing the tourist gaze. Therefore, the particulars of the script that the tour guides communicate is important to consider. The script draws on multiple aspects such as; the positionality of the tour guide, their understanding of the material, as well as their construction of the narrative presented (Macdonald, 2006). The script will often contain information and facts that contribute to the ‘preferred reading’ and thus become part of the dominant hegemonic narrative. In addition to this, each tour guide enters into tour guiding from a different background and engagement with material that will shape their interaction with the material and the sites that they mediate.

In regard to walking tours in particular, tour guides must navigate leading a group of people who are assumed to know little about the sites being shown. The tour guide may aim to guide the narrative of the group in a certain direction. In cases of ‘difficult heritage’ in which the past is currently influencing the present identities of those living today (such as the history of colonialization and apartheid in South Africa), it may trigger strong emotions and produce varied perspectives from the group. Some tour guides may gauge a group to assess their background knowledge to a certain degree. However, this tactic does have its downfalls by allowing the dominant narrative to be deviated from (Macdonald, 2006). Even tours

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that may seem to be going against the grain and presenting a “counter-dominant-hegemonic” perspective can seek a “dominant-hegemonic reading” within that framework (Macdonald, 2006, p. 129).

The creation of place is heavily influenced by the agenda of the tour and the type of narrative that is preferred, even if it touts alternative narratives. The script is therefore both a complex yet fundamental aspect to navigate. The mediation that tour guides engage in therefore greatly shapes the context that different spaces are perceived within. It is a dynamic and flexible position which is changed by the group and the circumstances in which they are in (Macdonald, 2006). Most of all, the tourist gaze is moulded using preferred readings and performance of identity that further contribute to the creation of space and understanding.

Merely walking in addition can also be a very intimate experience of space that is not as removed from the surrounding environment, like from the windows of a bus for example. When walking and coexisting with space, the everyday identities that tourists take with them when entering a space do not simply fall away to allow an unbiased reading of a place. They can influence the reading of place and space (Aoki & Yoshimizu, 2015). In addition, the experience of a place on foot is a means of seeing it from below (Aoki & Yoshimizu, 2015). This is a powerful and potentially meaningful way of experiencing space due to being part of how everyday people experience and navigate space. Experiencing from below rather than from above, is more vulnerable and intimate than the traditional position of power which constructs and operates from above (Aoki & Yoshimizu, 2015).

Experiencing place from below allows a view of public memory and history in an alternative way. It allows a view of public memory that might otherwise go unseen. In South Africa, public memory and history carries a vast amount of literature on both sides of the debate surrounding contested memorials, statue and monuments. There are many scholars who study post-apartheid monument construction and the place of monuments in the current political and social historical moment in South African history. There are many sides to the rightful place of memorials and monuments in post-apartheid South Africa and the ways that it contributes to the public landscape.

However, when trying to reimagine the public memory landscape, it is a complex and complicated domain which is riddled with many questions of rights and agency. In creating a counter narrative, it becomes necessary to interrupt the dominant narrative typically related to that of white male power (Chandler, 2004). However, it is at the same time difficult to disentangle the counter narrative from

coexisting in the political climate (Chandler, 2004). Yet as aforementioned, the importance of using culture as heritage and using it as a fulcrum upon which empowerment can develop is an important aspect to consider (Rankin, 2013). Rankin (2013) who writes about creating cultural capital in post-apartheid South Africa, states that one of the methods to recover Black South African culture would probably be made through monuments and museums as forms of redress. She bluntly states that “one way of tackling the issues would be to remove traces of the abhorred oppressor of the past” (Rankin, 2013, p. 74). Rankin (2013) seems dubious of the method that the ANC has opted to take in regard to protecting all statues and memorials. Following this, she delves into the many memorials that have been constructed as a counter narrative post 1994, to contribute the landscape of memory and push back on a field of oppressive white memorials that still exist. On an important note, Rankin (2013) notes that it is important to critically consider the museum and monument and their role in aiming to help South Africans process certain histories. There are dangers that museums may create atrocity voyeurism as well as create stereotypes surrounding victimhood and the false dichotomy of victim-perpetrator. These are important to keep in mind when considering changing the landscape and deciding how people will be portrayed within these changes.

Overall there are many sides to consider when looking at the narratives of public memory and the ways that it creates a landscape of heritage. Despite the minefield of memory and the difficulties that memorialization faces, it is necessary to question the different ways that history is transmitted on a day to day basis in our surroundings. What challenges are presented to those narratives, and which points of view are missing from the narratives that are sought out?

The discussion surrounding memorials and monuments is well documented as the ways in which they convey meaning and occupy a space in the landscape of memory. However, this research aims to understand the narrated oral history during *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* surrounding these very memorials and monuments and how they are remembered and in what light they are portrayed.

Methodology

This study takes a mixed-methods approach in its exploration of the historical narratives provided by *Cape Town Free Walking Tour* guides and the impact that these narratives have on the tourists who partake in them. Over the period of a week, data were collected through interviews, surveys as well as participant observation. The data were then processed through transcription of interviews, analysing and processing the survey data as well as summarizing participant observation.

This research is based on *The Cape Town Free Walking Tours* that operate in both Johannesburg and Cape Town. It operates beneath the umbrella of the Nielsen Tours company, with the registered company name “FWTCT (PTY) Ltd” in Cape Town under the registration number: 2017 /517773/07. It is a purely tips-based company that creates an income on commission of tips given to the guides.

Participants

Participants for this research included 34 tourists or travellers who partook in one or more of the various free walking tours, two *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* tour guides, and finally one manageress of the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*. The participants were either surveyed using a survey instrument discussed below (see Appendix A) or interviewed. The participants were selected through purposive sampling based on their affiliation or participation with *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*. The participants participated voluntarily and were subject to their own time availability. Therefore, the participants were also sampled based on their willingness and availability.

Materials

Interviews were conducted with both tour guides and the manageress of the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*. During the interviews the participants engaged with several interview questions while interacting with a map to plot the route of their tours and expand on the differences between the several tours offered. The surveys were administered to the tour participants which included nine questions to answer about their thoughts and experiences about the tour.

Procedure

The procedure differs drastically between the two methods employed during this research, namely interviews and surveys. I will begin with the interview procedure and then secondly describe the procedure for the surveys.

Interviews: Management of the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* were approached first through email informing them of the purpose of the research as well as the desire to interview tour guides. When no contact was made following a few days, I approached one of the representatives of the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* who was identifiable due to a branded shirt and umbrella and learned that she was a manageress of the company. An interview was set up a few days later.

All interviews began by gaining informed consent (See Appendix B) and providing the participants with a written outline of the purpose of the research as well as how the data would be used and published. In addition, the participants were provided with my contact details in case further questions or comments arose. The interviews were conducted at a café that the tours operate out of and provided a convenient and comfortable space to speak. Each interview took between 25-30 minutes on average and involved answering about seven or eight open ended questions. The interviewees, who were provided with a map, were asked to actively plot the route of their tours, and to further explain the tourist sites that they speak about at each plot point. However, the interview with the manageress and the tour guides differed since the manageress had never given a tour herself and could only speak to the experience she encountered when she went on the tours. Rather than focusing on the tour routes, her interview swayed more towards how the company runs and the process that one undergoes to become a part of the company. She was also instrumental in suggesting and setting up the following interviews as well as recommended the best ways to survey tour participants.

The interviews with the two tour guides occurred during their lunch break at the same café and focused on their experience as tour guides and the routes that they take as well as their research for the narrative that they provide on their tours. Since the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* provide five different types of tours, I wanted to focus specifically on the tours oriented towards wider history which led me to focus on the Historical Walking Tour and the Apartheid to Freedom tour. I participated in two Historical Walking Tours as well as two Apartheid to Freedom Tours given by different guides which made it more simple to focus in on the individual differences between the guides styles. Therefore, I asked specific questions about those specific tours and was curious in the narratives surrounding the sites of those tours in particular.

At the end of every interview, I debriefed the participants and asked them if they wanted to add anything, provide further input or ask any questions. They were then thanked for their time with either a smoothie or a hot beverage of their choice that was purchased from the café.

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Surveys: The initial procedure for surveys operated in a trial-and-error fashion. At first, I attempted to survey participants at the end of tours. I would participate in a tour with a guide that I had already interviewed and aim to survey some of the participants at the end of the tour. The guides were fully aware of my hope to survey some of the other participants and would introduce me to the group at the closing of the tour. However, out of a group of about 27 participants, only four were willing or stayed behind long enough to fill out surveys. This seemed to be due to many factors to do with other activities planned, interest in certain sites that the tour guide had recently pointed out, lack of free time, or they simply dispersed. Opting for a larger return on group size, I took another approach.

Before each tour, participants are asked by the manageresses to fill in some of their details at the starting point of the tours. During this process, a manageress will stand with a clipboard and have each participant sign up before the tour begins and ask the tour participants whether or not this is their first time taking a free walking tour as well as which tour they wish to take. It was during this sign-up period that I would administer surveys to any returning participants who had already taken one or more tours. The rate of returning participants wishing to take another tour was surprisingly high. I came to understand this phenomenon by attending the tours myself. I found that certain Apartheid information would be referenced on the Historical Walking Tour but instead of going into details during the Historical Tour, the tour guides would simply refer the participants to take the Apartheid to Freedom Tour and learn more about it during a tour dedicated to that information. In this way, a good percentage of people would return to take another tour.

The survey instrument (see Appendix A) consisted of nine questions that were printed on both sides of an A5 size sheet of paper. I obtained verbal consent from the participants by telling them about my survey and the nature of the research I was conducting surrounding the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*. The surveys were broadly interested in what the tour participants had learned from the tour, if they liked it, whether or not they wanted to learn more about the topics that they heard while on the tour and whether they had done other historical activities while in Cape Town. The questions were purposefully short and mostly one-word fill-in answers or multiple-choice answers. The brevity of the questions was intended to entice more people to accept to fill out the survey and not appear to be cumbersome activity. However, a challenge arose due to the formatting of the surveys. Since the surveys were double sided, many surveys were returned with only the first side completed. This was exacerbated by the fact that I was often not in the vicinity when people would take the surveys. Often when filling out surveys,

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respondents would often go sit elsewhere or purchase a coffee or a meal before filling out the survey and I would not be able to supervise whether or not the entire survey had been filled out. This also points to a flaw in the design of the survey which did not alert people to the fact that it was a double-sided instrument. Therefore, there are some surveys which are only partially completed as a result. While this may limit the use of the surveys to some degree, the front side of the survey still captures the majority of the questions (six out of nine) and encompasses some of the more important questions of the survey. For these reasons, the incomplete surveys will not be stricken from the data collection process. All participants who filled out a survey were offered a small chocolate as a token of appreciation.

In addition to physically handing out surveys, I also sent a copy of the survey link to my fellow School of International Training (SIT) students. At the beginning of the semester, all of the SIT students went on a Historical Walking Tour and was the initial activity that sparked thought my desire and interest to research this topic. Since our course aims to complicate the links between power status, class, race, history, rights among many others, the SIT students would likely have different reactions to tourists who may not be aware of the variety of narratives that exist. In this way, I believed it to be an interesting comparison of opinions between SIT students and the tourists or travellers who took the tours as well.

Limitations

Firstly, this study is conducted on a very small scale and does not cover the full scope of tour routes. The *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* expect between 150-200 people to take their tours per day. I relied on tourists who had already taken the tour once and were returning for a second time which might have limited the number of potential participants to survey. Since I was relying on tourists who had already taken a tour, the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* might be viewed in a more positive light since they returned for a second tour. This might have swayed some of the results to be more in praise of the tours.

Secondly, only two tour guides and one manageress were interviewed. The *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* currently employs seven tour guides, but many of them are not full-time guides. Therefore, during my data collection period, I mainly interacted with three guides who were working during those few days. This limited the number of tour guides I was able to get to contact. In future versions of the study the number of tour guides could be increased to include more narratives.

Thirdly, I personally only participated in five tours total, one through SIT and four during my research. During these tours I took notes on my phone at each of the sites, documenting them and writing relevant or significant notes at each site. This however could have been extended to attending more tours as well as recording the tours and transcribing the content of tours and analysing the full content of the narrative presented.

Finally, this study only focused on one site of *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*. An additional walking tour company, such as the *Free City Sightseeing Cape Town Walking Tours* was not investigated. In future research, perhaps a study of both companies would be useful to gain a fuller understanding of Cape Town Walking Tours as a whole entity rather than just one company.

Ethics

Firstly, in an effort to best represent the narratives that I received, it was imperative that participants were informed of the purpose of my study through informed consent. The participants have the right to know the ways in which their information will be used, as well as have the right to withdraw their information at any point during the process. During the interview process, I made sure that there was a printed copy of a consent form available to the subjects (See Appendix B) to read over and to sign the various components that they wished to consent to. In the nature of full disclosure, I let them know that they had full authority over their interview, and that it would only be published online with their permission as well as retained for a period of a year for possible use during my senior thesis. During the interview I also provided a printed map with the basic outlines of the streets of the CBD in Cape Town and thus allowed them to draw out and describe the routes that they take. This method was employed to both help me understand the differences between the routes that guides take, as well as allow the interviewees to be more involved in their depiction of space and place.

While administering the surveys I was required to be much more brief in my explanation of consent. I recognized the limited length of time that people had available and, in an effort to respect that, I gave an abridged verbal version of the consent form. I obtained verbal consent from the survey participants and due to the relatively anonymous nature of the survey, which included only the country of origin as an identifiable field, required less detail surrounding identity protection.

During my data collection, it is important that this information regarding the purpose of my study, the ways that the information will be used, where the information will be used, as well as the right to withdraw or remain anonymous is made readily available to the participants.

On one occasion, I was absent when surveys were being distributed and was not able to assure that full or accurate consent had been provided. The failure to obtain consent on 27 of those surveys resulted in the data being eliminated from the study due to a failure to meet ethical standards.

Reflexivity

When conducting research, it is of paramount importance to be considerate of the participants and to operate in a way that respects both their needs and boundaries. When conducting interviews there are many aspects in which the researcher must maintain a sense of reflexivity and recognize the power imbalance that exists when conducting an interview and the best ways in which to mediate that. Kapoor (2004) writes on Spivak detailing the necessary steps that one can take to mediate power and privilege especially when studying the subaltern. One of the methods that are suggested by Kapoor is to diligently do your 'homework' and become able to critique our own background and realize that as researchers entering a space that requires self-reflexivity and examination (Kapoor, 2004). It is necessary for me to understand that I am complicit in the ways that I have been taught to think about certain spaces and peoples which stem from a "subject-effect" (p. 641). Kapoor (2004) expands upon and reiterates that no person is without bias and culture, and when researching others, it is important to keep in mind that the researcher will encounter information through a tinted veil.

Therefore, it is necessary for me to be constantly reflective and consider why I am interested in this topic, and why I find a need to research it in this specific location as well as why I find certain information interesting. With that said, self-reflexivity is important in theory but also needs to be implemented into how I understand my data and the ways that I conduct my analysis. It is important to understand that I am a foreigner to this space and that my lived experiences are different from those who I am interviewing. I can never know the full story and should never assume that the narrative that I am hearing is representative of a group or even begins to tell the story of a whole group. I am merely receiving one or two narratives and opinions on a topic. Even within the few narratives that I do receive, I need to be very aware that by assigning value to the data that I collect, I am judging it by my own standards which are inherently biased (Wheeldon & Faubert, 2009).

Kvale (1996) notes in their work about interviews, there is certain protocol to follow in order to ensure the best interview experience. Some of those methods revolve around making sure the participant is comfortable and are free to ask questions before and after the interview, as well as notify the participant of the ways in which the material that they provide will be used (Kvale, 1996). In this way, the participants have more control over their interview and it remains their decision whether or not to remain confidential. My responsibility is to respect their wishes and protect their identity through methods such as fake names, work, addresses, etc.

Another form of ethical practise when engaging in qualitative data collection is rather than merely acknowledging a researcher's positionality within their research, is to engage in alternative research methods that may allow the research participants to have more agency over the way that they tell their story (Wheeldon & Faubert, 2009). Wheeldon and Faubert (2009) present the possible implementation of concept maps and mind maps when conducting research to emphasise relationships between various spheres of people's lives and how they contribute to a larger understanding (Wheeldon & Faubert, 2009). This would involve having the research participants more involved in the process of their meaning making rather than just engaging with a verbal exchange as a classical interview would. In this way they are the engineers of their own data and centres the research participants voice rather than the agenda of the researcher (Wheeldon & Faubert, 2009). This does not mean to imply that the researcher is totally absent in this research since the impetus behind it is driven by the researcher, but within the realm of the data creation and collection the research participant is able to participate more in the story that they have to tell.

Research Findings

Overview of Tour Routes

The *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* are often an initial orientation point for tourists who have recently arrived in Cape Town. The tours lay the foundation of how many of the tourists may go forth and experience other parts of the town. According to the surveys, 97% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the tours enhanced their understanding of Cape Town. Therefore, the tours then play a very important role in terms of shaping the city in the eyes of the tourist and contributing to the tourist gaze. It is important to have a larger understanding of what the tours provide as a result.

For the purpose of this research, I focused on the two most broadly historical tours that the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* offers which are: Historic Tour and the Apartheid to Freedom Tour. The other three tours that are offered, Bo-Kaap Tour, Taste of Cape Town Tour and the Diamond and Jewellery Tour provide a certain history but on a narrower scale therefore I focused on the two broader tours aforementioned. All tours begin at Motherland Café in the CBD and then navigate different routes depending on the tour. It is important to note as well is that each tour guide navigates each route in their own way to prevent the tour from becoming too monotonous for them to conduct. Therefore, the specific route will change depending on the tour guide, but the basic sights that are included on the tours will be the same.

Historic Tour

The Historic Tour begins at Motherland Café (See Image 1) and covers the following sights but not particularly in the order presented. From Motherland Café, the tour will move to the murals of Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu and the recently added Winnie Mandela on Longmarket Street in Cape Town. The tour will then continue to the Grand Parade where the Cape Town City Hall will be pointed out (directly opposite). Sometimes the tour will also stop at the Good Hope Castle adjacent to the Grand Parade, if not it continues to Church Square to see the Slave Stones. Standing in Church Square, the sad lion statue is pointed out above the slave lodge. Rounding the corner behind the slave lodge, the tour encounters a statue of Queen Victoria, and the houses of Parliament and then just a few meters past that, the large statue of Jan Smuts is seen and discussed. Following that, the tour group enters the Companies gardens as well as sees the statue of Cecil John Rhodes in the Company's Gardens. The tour will then return to Motherland Café.

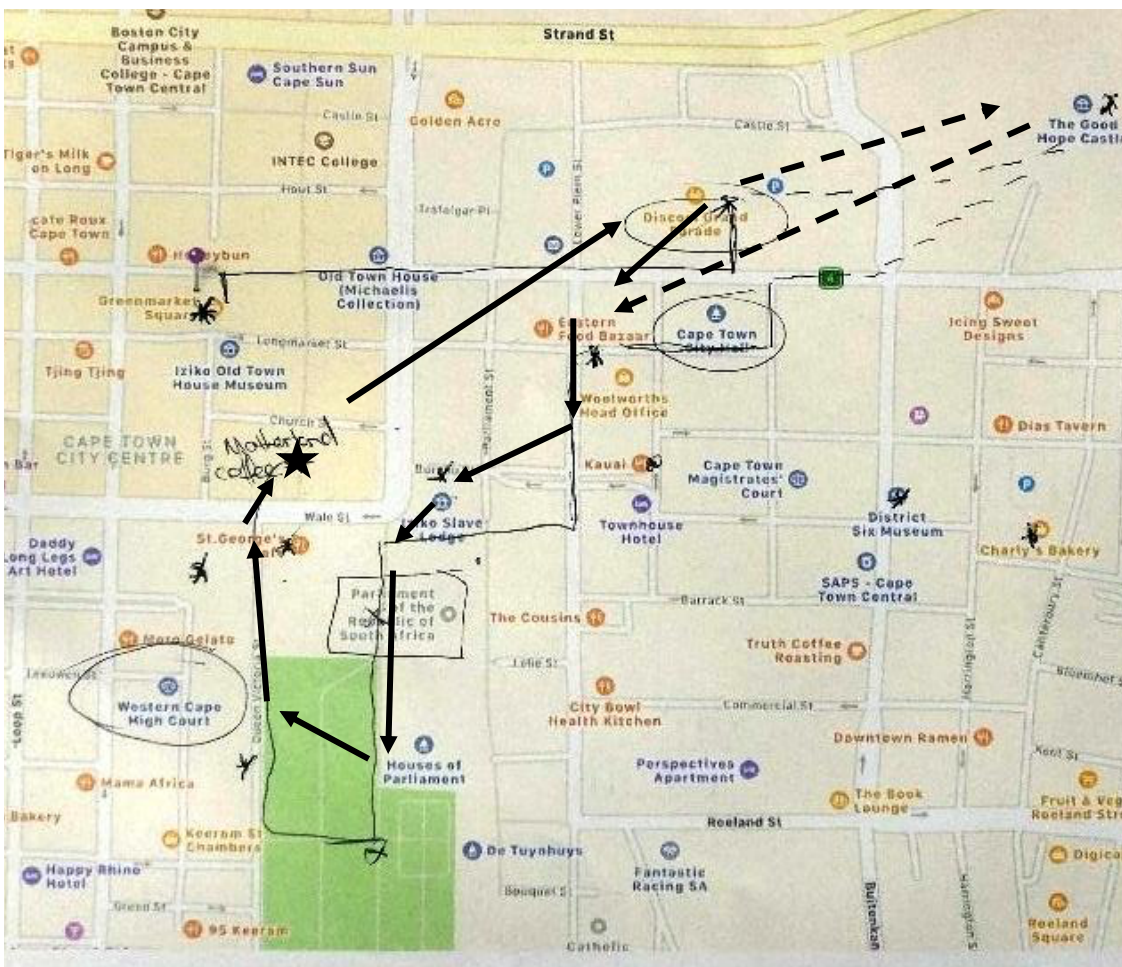


Image 1: Historic Tour Route drawn out by the Manageress, Florina. (Arrows added for clarity)

Apartheid Tour

The Apartheid Tour begins at Motherland Café (See Images 2 & 3) and covers the following sights but not particularly in the order presented. The slab of the Berlin Wall is sometimes mentioned and pointed out at the beginning or end of tours. It may even be included in the Historic Tour at times. Then St. Georges Cathedral is discussed followed by the adjacent high court. From there some tour guides will include the Company's Gardens and the statue of Cecil John Rhodes followed by the Tuynhuys (Townhouse). Tours will then view the Smuts statue and the Houses of Parliament. Following that, the District 6 Museum is pointed out and a summary of District 6 is given. To conclude, the tour ends at City Hall.



Image 1: Apartheid to Freedom Route drawn out by Tour guide, Ken. (Arrows added for clarity)

One must keep in mind that throughout these tours, information is being provided at every site. I, however, would be remiss in including that information in these summaries because it changes depending on the tour guide. The tour guide has the majority of the control over what they say at the different sites. They create their own narrative using personal stories and narratives surrounding each of the sites that I have listed. Some will not travel to certain statues and places, while others will add onto the scripted sights. That being said, the basic layout of the tours and their fundamental sights are included in the tours.



Image 2: Apartheid to Freedom Route drawn out by Tur Guide, Diane. (Arrows added for clarity)

The difference between the two Apartheid to Freedom routes drawn out on Images 2 and 3 show the alternating routes that guides will use depending on the sites they wish to add. Image 2, sketched by Ken, goes through the Company's Gardens, Image 3, drawn by Diane, does not travel through the

Company's Gardens and instead goes around the gardens, directly towards the Slave Lodge. This demonstrates the differences between just two tour guides routes during the same tour. Therefore, not only do the routes influence the overall consumption of the city, but the tour guides are directly related to the production of the type of route that is experienced as well. Therefore, the tourists are guided to sites that are predetermined by the tour guides. The particular sites carry different connections to the city's history and thus it is important to keep in mind the tour guides positionality when considering the historical narratives during tours. The tour guides role as a mediator therefore greatly influences the tourists' gaze depending on their personal conveyance of memory and heritage. These factors contribute to the overall preferred reading within a tourist space. (Macdonald, 2006).

Survey Results

As noted above, 27 surveys were eliminated from the data due to inadequately informed consent. Due to a conflict in scheduling I entrusted the surveys to one of the manageresses to distribute to tour participants on my behalf. However, during this process, she did not disclose the nature of my research or how it would be used, therefore I was morally required to destroy that data. However, a total of 34 surveys were completed with at least 32 participants completing questions one to five and at least 24 participants completing questions six to nine. Therefore approximately 70% of the surveys were completed in their entirety. Among the surveys, the majority of respondents stated that they were tourists (~70%). Across the other categories, only a few were students (~24%) and one or two were travelling on business or taking a gap year (~6%) (See Figure 1).

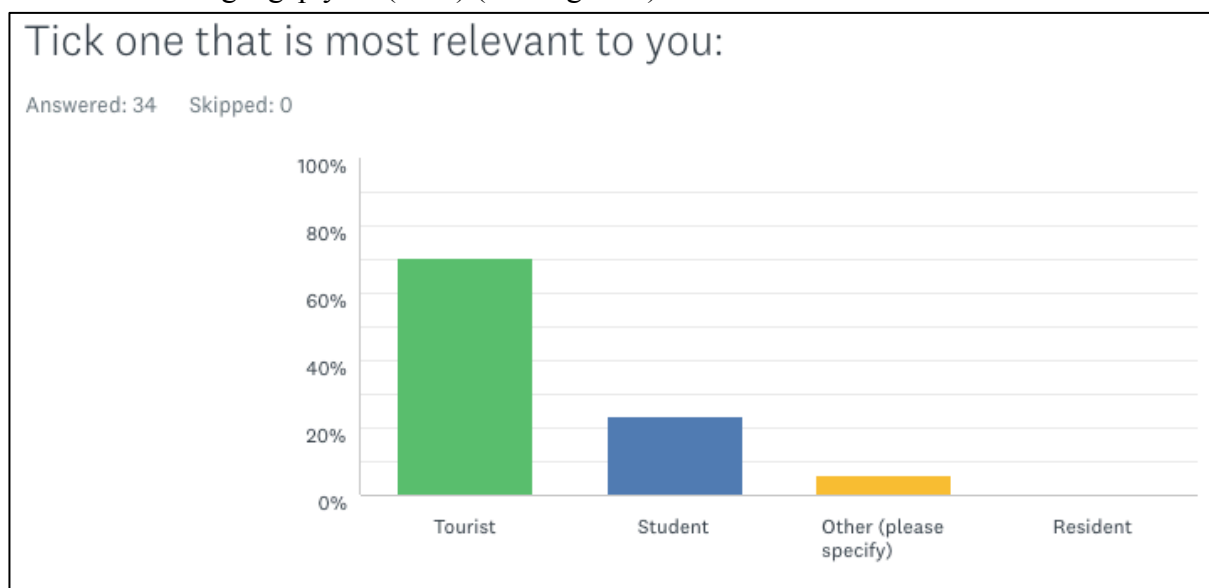


Figure 1: Breakdown of survey respondent demographics

Additionally, the majority of respondents had spent less than a month in Cape Town (~82%) and none of the respondents had spent more than four months in Cape Town (See Figure 2). Therefore, the respondents had not spent an extensive amount (more than four weeks) of time in Cape Town. What this question aimed to capture was the amount of time that primarily tourists had been exposed to the culture/place/space of Cape Town. However, one can never really define what is ‘enough’ time to spend in a location to truly experience it. It begs the question can one truly experience a place authentically? Can tourist spaces every occupy such authenticity due to the nature of their performance? (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). Del Casino & Hanna (2000) would argue that a tourist can never fully experience the authenticity of a place due to the nature of tourist spaces which display the expected and hide the real life behind the scenes. Performance of a certain identity will also shield or veil the authenticity of a place and contribute to a tourist gaze rather than authenticity.

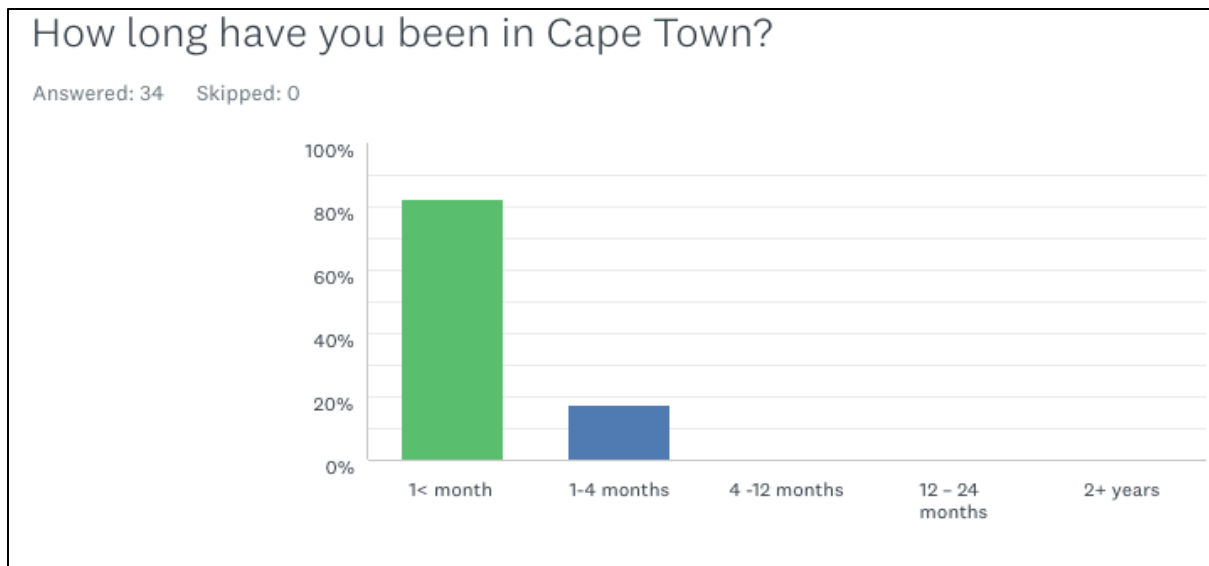


Figure 2: Length of time in Cape Town prior to the Walking Tour

Another important aspect that the surveys aimed to explore was tourists’ previous exposure to other historical activities prior to the Walking Tours in Cape Town. This question was interested in whether tourists’ first interaction with locally presented history was through the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*. A majority of the respondents (68%) answered that they had not engaged in other historical activities at the time of answering the survey (See Figure 3). Of those, 71% were tourists, 24% were students, and 6% were travelling on business. The remaining 34% of respondents who *had* participated other historical activities were primarily tourists who had been on Robben Island tours as well as visited the District 6 museum. Two participants had participated in other historical activities but did not provide any details.

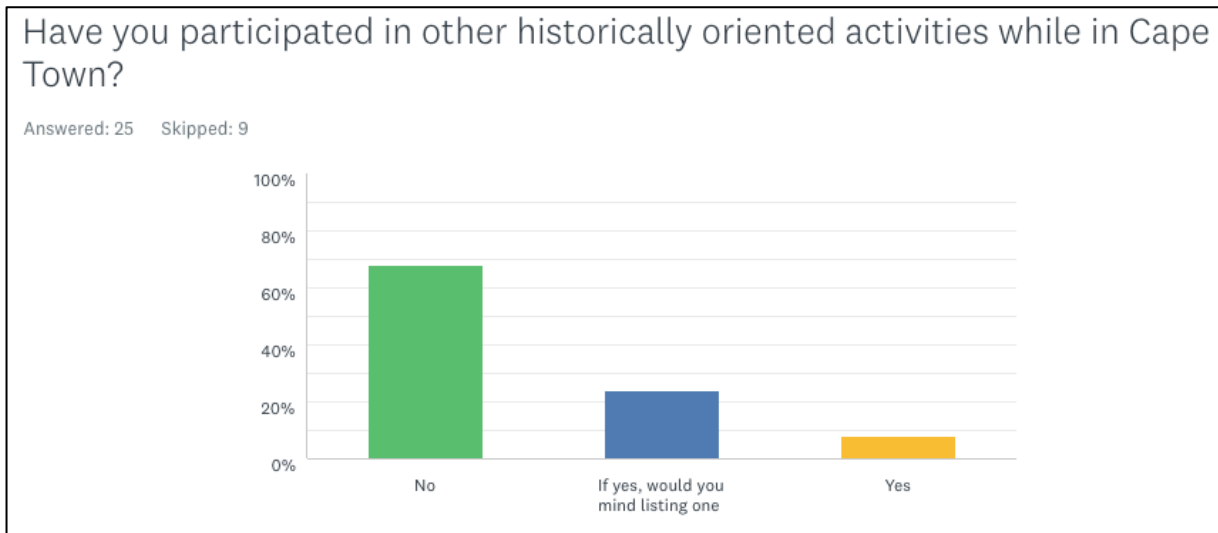


Figure 3: Breakdown of respondent's participation in other historical activities prior to the survey

Finally, most of the respondents answered, 'strongly agree' (70%) when asked if the Walking Tour enhanced their understanding of Cape Town history (See Figure 4). However, of those who answered strongly agree, 33% of them also wished to learn more about South African history (See Figure 5). This does not mean that the tour failed them necessarily, but that despite the tour being very informative, they perhaps would appreciate more information on certain topics presented on the tour. The responses that the respondents wished to learn more about are presented in the table below (Table 1).

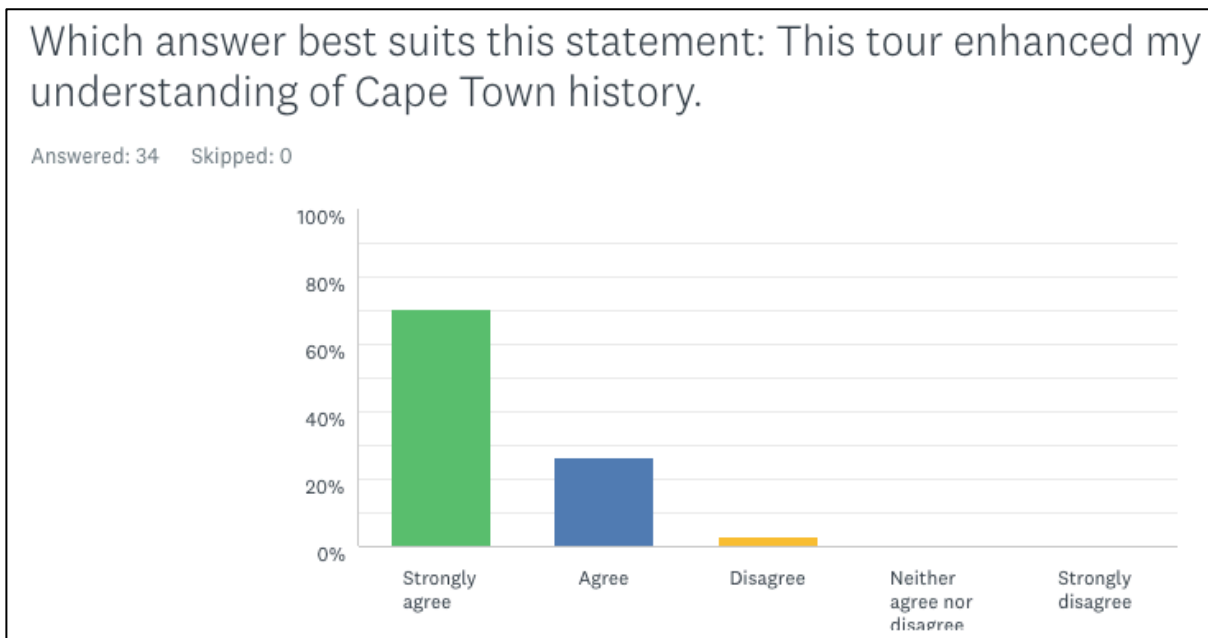


Figure 4: Graph showing the participants opinions of the historical knowledge gained during the tour

The majority of responses in Table 1 present a general desire to learn more about apartheid and slavery. The Historic Tour as well as the Apartheid to Freedom Tour present a brief introduction on both of those topics. The content of these tours is limited to 90 minutes, of which some is taken up walking and navigating space with a large group of people. Therefore, further information on those topics is desired by participants who received a brief introduction to both topics. However, some comments present a dissenting opinion of the material presented during the tours. The comments demand more balanced information that includes those oppressed and people of colour within the stories of slavery and Apartheid. In this way, these comments are more directly remarking on the content of the tours themselves rather than follow up information. In this light, some tour participants found that the tour content failed to represent a balanced account of history and solely focused on white leadership and white colonisation. This table reflects all of the participants comments and is *not* solely reflective of those who answered strongly agree (in terms of gaining a greater understanding of South African history). However, the intersection of those who left a comment and those who did answer strongly agree are highlighted in grey.

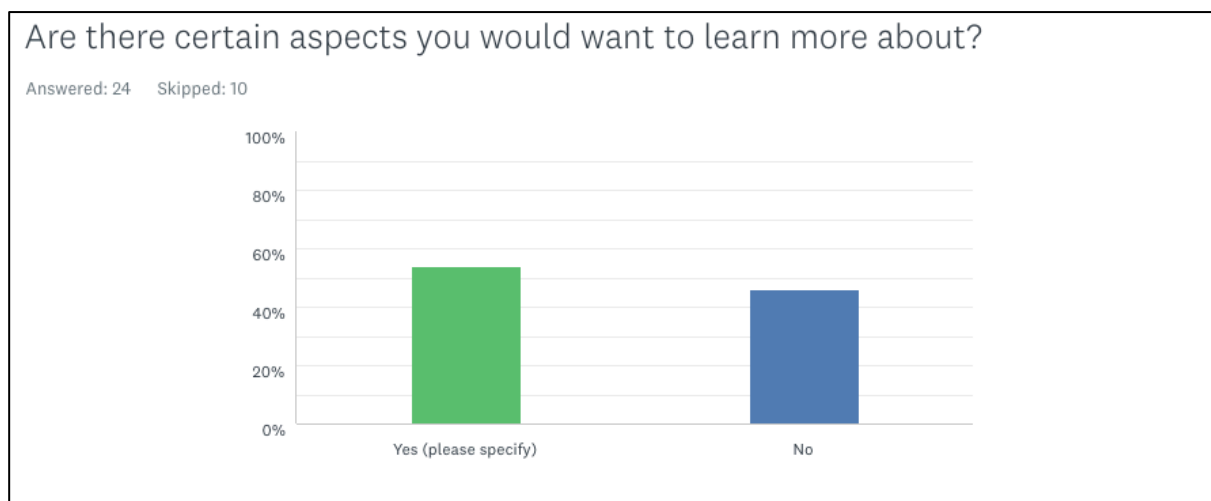


Figure 5: Respondents opinions of whether to not they would like to learn more about in regard to the tour

Table 1	
No.	Aspects that respondents would like to learn more about
1	“The origins of the food”
2	“Apartheid”
3	“Slavery”
4	“Personal stories or anecdotes are always great to hear”
5	“More about the impact and efforts of people of colour (aside from Nelson Mandela, who was one of the sole people of colour referred to) on the end of apartheid instead of just the efforts of white people already in power. And more about South African history prior to colonization (was barely acknowledged)”
6	“Slavery”
7	“Deeper knowledge about the apartheid”
8	“Nelson Mandela time in prison, daily life during apartheid”
9	“Apartheid, history of colonialism, Islamic influence”
10	“Relations between natives and colonisers”
11	“The tour guide really only highlighted the significance of white leaders in the making of South Africa and the anti-apartheid movement.”
12	“I would like to learn about the lives of the oppressed people, not the oppressors”
13	“Apartheid history, impacts today”

Table 1: Breakdown of the answers that respondents gave regarding aspects of history that they would like to learn more about (interaction between ‘strongly agree’ and ‘learn more’ are highlighted in grey)

As Bickford-Smith (2009) details in his writings, the methods of advertising a place and ‘branding’ it establishes the norm of how that place will be experienced as per expectations, both imagined and real. Therefore, the display of the public landscape, with the guides as mediators, heavily influences the tourist gaze and the performance of space (Macdonald, 2006). Therefore, the preferred

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reading of Cape Town and its people are framed by the sites that have been detailed above, as well as the personal stories and the narratives that the tour guides share (Macdonald, 2006). The tour guides are impacted by their positionality and background and that can affect how they interact with memory and heritage in South Africa and particularly within Cape Town. Although many people really enjoyed the tours and felt that they were useful to their orientation of the city, there were some that felt that they were insufficient in their content and that the bias presented by the tour guides was doing an injustice to the diversity of voices that have otherwise been silenced.

Interview Results

In an effort to position the data collected within the interviews, it is important to situate it within the work that has gone before it to allow more context. Therefore, the interview results are presented within the framework of Macdonald's (2006) work on tour guides and mediation, Del Casino & Hannas' (2000) work on maps and the reproduction of space, Bickford-Smith's (2009) work on constructing the tourist gaze as well as Aoki and Yoshimizus' (2015) work on walking tours and embodying space.

While these frames are employed to create context and shape the argument presented, the following subcategories will be used within which to better analyse the data – Tourism and the Tourist city, Memory and Heritage, and Place Making or the creation of place.

Tourism and the Tourist City

The way that tourists come to learn or imagine space and subsequently consume that place is a matter of branding and media depictions (Bickford-Smith, 2009; Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). Certain places and the activities that are advertised frame the expectations that tourists anticipate when travelling to different spaces. These expectations cause tourists to perform a certain role, take on a certain identity in relation to their understanding of themselves within the space that they are experiencing. These formations of identity, not only create, but reproduce these roles (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). Thus, the city of Cape Town contains designated tourist areas and spaces that are recommended for tourists. Such spaces allow tourists to engage selectively with memory and heritage, thus fulfilling the tourist gaze.

The tourist gaze is shaped by the guides themselves working in the tourism industry. All of the guides are fully trained guides who have attended courses to become registered and qualified South African tour guides. The two guides that I talked to had been guiding for a year and two years respectively. They had entered into guiding from very different backgrounds, but something that they

both felt contributed to their tours was the fact that they had both travelled when they were younger. One of the guides expanded on this by stating that they believed that “people can relate to other people that have travelled” (Ken, personal communication, April 9, 2018). In this way, the guides hoped to identify with the tourists and try and relate to them or at least make them feel comfortable. As one of the guides said, “at the end of the day you're an ambassador for your country” (Diane, personal communication, April 12, 2018).

In addition to this, there are also some negative experiences with locals that the tour guides recounted. During tours that they were giving, some locals would comment on their tours and be openly verbal towards them. One tour guide who grew up in an Afrikaner household recounted a time that locals yelled hate speech at him and say things like “he’s using apartheid as a tool to make money” (Ken, personal communication, April 9, 2018). He noted that it used to be very difficult and drain him, but now he doesn’t let him affect him – “I don’t even make eye contact I just ignore it” (Ken, personal communication, April 9, 2018). The commentary about having to distance himself from locals opinions of him contributes to Del Casino & Hanna’s (2000) depiction of the tourist worker as the “submerged other” (29). In this light the tour guides are performing as a host of their country and “thus reproduce the tourism space and their identity” (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). The guides would perform their tour guide identity, relate with the tourists and demarcate certain spaces within the city where tourists are welcome yet equally not welcome. All of these factors which all contributes to the reproduction of the tourist space and the tourist city.

Throughout all the interviews, I noticed a trend between the guides as well as the manageress. When asked about what they hope people will gain from the tours, they all were concerned with the enjoyment of the tourists and wanted them to be happy with the tour. One of the tour guides commented on this and said that they hoped that tourists would take away “a bit of a better grasp of how Cape Town developed and progressed over the years and also hopefully falling in love with the city, but most of all I just think an enjoyable experience” (Diane, personal communication, April 12, 2018). In this way tourists are catered towards and accommodated with the hopes that they enjoy themselves. The manageress communicated a similar sentiment by saying that “I want them to learn history but also have a nice time, I want them to be happy with our services” (Florina, personal communication, April 12, 2018). The services that the company provides as well as the work that the tour guides do has an overarching desire to please the tour participants. Since the tour guides work for tips, their mediation between the host

society and the tourists might be moulded by the desire to create a positive experience. This might produce a particular narrative which both seeks to communicate history but simultaneously appease tourists. This message is reinforced by their website's 'About Us' section which reads "Our mission is to make Cape Town walkable for everyone – It's as simple as that. That is why our tours are educative while fun and light and run on tips alone. We like to call it "infotainment". (Free Walking Tours Cape Town, n.d.). Therefore, the business model is advertised as a fun and accessible tour which will entertain while learning on the move. The way that tour guides conduct their tours may be affected by the desire to present a more light-hearted version to fit the business model as well as to make it fun in order to be viewed in a positive light by the tour participants who are receiving the type of tour that they expected and therefore are likely to tip more.

In the company's eyes, it is important too that the tourists are receiving the type of tour that is expected and are pleased with the services of the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*. At the end of the day, tourists should leave having had a good experience. The concept of tourist spaces framed by Del Casino & Hanna (2000) aims to unpack the ways that tourists are catered towards. It is within these designated tourist spaces within a city like Cape Town where the tourist is the "dominant identity" (29) and those working within the tourist spaces "'become' the site, thus hiding what is, for them, work" (29). Within these contexts, the tour guide masks their work while the tourist is catered towards. The tourist identity is created and confirmed but also is not a stagnant entity and can be shifted in these spaces depending on the material encountered. Not only is the tourist identity created, but the identity of those working in the tourist industry (and to some degree the non-tourist identity) is also created in contrast to that of the tourist.

Memory and Heritage

The tour guides must conduct mediation on a daily basis as a liaison between the past and the current day as well as between the foreigners and the locals (Macdonald, 2006). Guides are an important middle-person between tourists and the host environment. In addition to this, Macdonald (2006) reveals the nature of navigating 'difficult heritage' and how that is communicated. The ways that tour guides will mediate between tourists and the space, will aid in the construction of the tourist gaze (Macdonald, 2006). The ways that guides provide information and preform this information also contribute to their mediation of space. In other forms of media such as television, there is not mediation between the audience and the material being presented. The audience will see it as it is presented and will be in direct contact with the

material (Macdonald, 2006). However, the ways that the tour guides present their information and mediate between the sites that are shown and the tourists, is a position that other media does not often occupy. This does not mean that the tourists as an audience do not have an interaction with the information and can engage with it in ways that can accept or challenge the information presented (Macdonald, 2006).

In this way, the script that the guides use is important to how memory and heritage are constructed within the tourist gaze (Macdonald, 2006). The *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* do have a script for their tour guides, but the guides have freedom within the script. The guides can choose how they wish to present certain information as well as which sites to add to their tour. According to one of the guides, the script was explained as “a brief basic outline of, sort of saying what we talk about” (Diane, personal communication, April 12, 2018). She went on to explain that it sets up a basic standard for all of the tours so that they have some uniform to them but that tour guides are also encouraged to deviate slightly from the script and contribute their own stories, to make it unique. Therefore, the majority of the work that goes into preparing and creating a script is taken by the individual guides.

A common way that the guides will create their own script is to build off of other tour guides. Guides will go on other tours and, as one guide said, “I listened to them, I recorded them and then look at the script. And then you go and compile your own thing that’s totally different” (Ken, personal communication, April 9, 2018). Therefore, lots of the tour can be personal narrative and personal stories that fit into a wider framework of historical facts and figures. As one guide stated “a lot of us [knew] that stuff since we were kids” (Ken, personal communication, April 9, 2018) which creates the viewpoint of inherent and obvious knowledge. However, Macdonald (2006) asserts that tour guides “*positioning* here is crucial”(123). Since tour guides are free to present information in ways that they find acceptable, they may be presenting and seeking “preferred readings” of memory and heritage (Macdonald, 2006). For example, one guide was talking about the ways that he sourced information for his tours and one of the books he mentioned was - “a spiritual book called ‘The search for an abundant life’. I’ve learned a lot from that book. It’s about a lot of south African white families that fought against the apartheid which you don’t often hear about” (Ken, personal communication, April 9, 2018). In this case, the guide found that particular book and content important. This speaks back to his positionality and background which has shaped what his values are and influences the content of his tours.

The creation of a heritage is built upon different stories that are part of the public landscape. Heritage, therefore, is largely influenced by the background and position of people in society telling the stories. Therefore, when creating a narrative, tour guides will have particular perspectives of events and people and these contributions will affect their 'preferred reading' and will influence a certain take of the history as well. Especially with 'difficult heritage' that one might aim to "disown even while they acknowledge it to be part of their defining history" (Macdonald, 2006). And in this way, the harms from the past may be skirted in ways that are unbeknownst to those avoiding them. "The most common responses to such heritage are denial and amnesia" (Macdonald, 2006).

Place Making

The contribution to the creation of space is particularly apparent through the walking tours. By walking one is embodying space and experiencing the place from the bottom up, rather than a powerful view of top down (Aoki & Yoshimizu, 2015). The creation of place is tied up in both the creation of tourist spaces as well as the narrative/script that is produced by the tour guides. Each tour guide has a rough route that they take their tours on (depending on the type of tour) and they each have sights that each tour can expect to see, as well as the sights that the tour guide may decide are important (See Methodology). For example, when asked if she would add anything to the tour that was not already prescribed, she answered "we do all the time, yeah if something cool comes up or new piece of street art or something" (Diane, personal communication, April 12, 2018). In this way, the agency of the tour guides show certain spaces and open up new avenues and becomes part of the creation of space.

In addition to the sites chosen by the guides, there are certain prescribed sites that the guides must show in order to meet the expectations of the tourists. Like how one guide states that "you will need to stop... let's say, at least at the company gardens, and by the parliament. Because that's things that they put on their flyers" (Diane, personal communication, April 12, 2018). Creation of space and place is also a factor of branding and advertising. Since its necessary to create places that live up to the standard of what is advertised, those places must become part of the narrative that is experienced.

In relation to the places that are advertised as tourist sites, the Bo-Kaap is a sought after tourist attraction. The *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* also provide a tour that engages with that community. However, Bo-Kaap is often sought after for photogenic reasons. This can become problematic due to the expectation of space to be photographed despite being a residential area and a community. This is one of the difficulties that the tour guides come into contact with, is that within Bo-Kaap "few are really

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interested in the origin so this is why your wording is very important to tell them there is more than just colourful houses cause it's a centre point of the Islamic culture in South Africa" (Diane, personal communication, April 12, 2018). The creation of space or re-making of space is also very important and is mediated again by the tour guide who may offer a counter narrative to the one that is expected.

One tour guide who had been working for the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* for just over six months detailed the necessity to be a "registered valid tour guide" (Diane, personal communication, April 12, 2018) with the official certifications and qualifications and that prove proficiency in tour guiding. This was to ensure that those giving tours were legitimate and recognized within the tourist industry. She continued by saying "you can't let any Tom, Dick, or Harry tell you - 'I'm going to take you on a tour' and you end up in the wrong places in the city" (Diane, personal communication, April 12, 2018). This comment suggests that there are areas that the tourists would be unwise to travel into thus demarcating the city into areas that tourists are encouraged towards, counter to those "wrong places in the city". The breakdown of the city into tourist spaces vs. non-tourist spaces (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000) contributes to the way that the tourist gaze is shaped in Cape Town, how those spaces are consumed and who consumes them (Bickford-Smith, 2009).

Discussion/Analysis

As presented above, the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* presents a mediated experience where many tourists are oriented into Cape Town and some of its history. Most tourists had not engaged in prior activities of a historical nature. Those who had, had generally been to the District 6 Museum. Considering that most of the survey participants were returning for their second tour (rather than being surveyed once their first tour ended) they had the opportunity to see the sights that had been pointed out to them on the first tour. The Apartheid to Freedom tour particularly points out the District 6 museum and encourages people to visit it themselves. This question is limited in the sense that it does not factor in the possibility for tourists to seek out historically oriented activities after the free walking tour. However, it is valuable in the sense that it captures whether or not tourists had engaged with other historical material during their time in Cape Town.

The interviews revealed that the tour guides were aware of their importance of their first impression. They were concerned with the impact that they had on the tourists, often hoping that the tourists would enjoy themselves and take away a positive experience from the tour. Therefore, the guides

were almost tasked with assuming a representative role of the Capetonian people and serving as an ambassador for the ways that tourists would further enjoy their time in Cape Town. As such, the guides made a concerted effort to encourage laughter (where appropriate) and engage with the group by recounting personal stories and, when possible, making themselves available for questions. While the guides were concerned about creating a positive image of the city and making the participants feel at ease, they were also working on a tips basis. I mention this because it is important to consider that while tour guides are performing their role as a mediator between the tourist and the host society, they are simultaneously relying on tourists for their income to support their livelihoods. In order for the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours* to be successful, good reviews and positive word of mouth are needed to maintain a high volume of tourists. Therefore, the calibre of their tours as well as the enjoyment of the tour participants is a vital part of keeping the company operational as well as maintaining their jobs. This may suggest that the production of knowledge and the ways that information is communicated is influenced by the tips business model. Tour guides are likely to try and create a good impression of the city as well as of themselves to increase the chance that tourists will tip more generously depending on their enjoyment of the tour. The tour guides carry out their roles as cultural mediators as well as their role as hosts, which, for the tour guides, hides the fact that it is indeed work for them, and that they rely on the tourists for their wages (Del Casino & Hanna, 2000). The tour guides have to navigate their role as host as well as worker, to present a tourist space and communicate information that contributes and fits into the tourist gaze.

The survey results revealed that the tourists thoroughly enjoyed three main parts of the walking tour: the tour guides, the personal stories of the tour guides, as well as learning about this history presented. Most of the participants opted to take the Historic Tour or the Apartheid to Freedom tour. It is likely that those who selected to participate in those tours were keen to gain a broader grounding in the history of Cape Town. Also, on a pragmatic level, only three of the tours run twice a day. The Historic Tour, the Apartheid to Freedom Tour and the Bo-Kaap Tour all run twice a day thus making them more accessible to tourists than the Jewellery and Diamond History Tour, or the Taste of Cape Town Tour which only run once.

The Historic Tour and the Apartheid to Freedom Tour are also very popular since the tour guides will encourage the tourists to attend an alternate tour to learn more about Apartheid (if on a Historic Tour) or to learn more about the background of colonial history (if on an Apartheid Tour). In this way, the tours

market themselves as offering a multifaceted lens of history that is not stifled by a single narrative but presents more than one to learn from thus suggesting a more well-rounded version of history. However, within the *Cape Town Free Walking Tours*, the tourist gaze is fed through preferred readings of place and space, constructed through the sites that are shown on the tours, the script for the guides, their own personal contributions and their positionality. While presenting a multifaceted lens of history through different tours and suggesting a “counter-dominant-hegemonic” impression of place, they are still working within a “dominant-hegemonic” reading of space (Macdonald, 2006, p. 129).

Guides would sometimes assess the prior knowledge of their tour participants by asking some of the participants about where they are from and if they are familiar with particular sites or background history in South Africa or Cape Town. While this is a way for the tour guides to better engage their tour participants and break the ice to encourage more conversation, it also is a way that Macdonald (2006) suggests that the guides vet out their participants to potentially gauge how much information they should share and how the audience might react to certain information. Although during tours, guides would often assert that some elderly White South Africans, for whom the history presented would have been a lived experience, will hear the version of history from the tour guides and become very upset about it. Some were known to suggest that Apartheid didn’t happen, or that the laws that the guides talk about are lies. The guides emphasise that despite the truth is difficult and hard to hear, it still needs to be told. In this way, guides are navigating a challenging history where they are presenting a difficult past to a visibly different present day.

The paradox of presenting a space within which history was made yet reflects very different structures in the present day is a challenge for the tour guides. Both of the tour guides that I interviewed confirmed that sometimes locals will challenge them due to the historical narrative that they are presenting. One of the guides claimed to receive verbal hate speech while the other said that locals will sometimes become angry for being inconsiderate with photographs or physically in the way. For example, during the Apartheid to Freedom Tour, guides will tell the tour group about District 6 and the forced removals that occurred there. While standing in front of the District 6 Museum the guides will describe the way people used to live there and the diverse community that existed there as well. However, the community is no longer there to be seen, and therefore the tour guide is responsible for painting a picture of what District 6 was like. The guides would then detail the forced removal and the brutality with which

the government removed people from their homes, relocated the residents to desolate places and then had their homes bulldozed.

Macdonald (2006) calls this concept of envisioning place as ‘double seeing’ where the guides will either show pictures or describe a scene which is drastically different from the current day. The tourists are required to imagine the brutality of District 6 removals while seeing an alternate view of current reality. This work of double seeing is necessary to capture the way that spaces and heritage was created, especially within unsuspecting sites (Macdonald, 2006). Place takes on a different meaning through imagining or double seeing and is a large part of creating a sense of history. It has an overall effect on how the city of Cape Town is imagined. Through the process of double seeing, the description of the ways that slavery and apartheid impacted people’s lives as well reveal parts of the city that would not have otherwise been known. Especially as Aoki & Yoshimizu (2015) present walking as an embodiment of place, and a relation to how everyday people deal with obstacles in their routes in their daily lives.

Another aspect of walking is that it offers a position of vulnerability. Tourists put their trust in a tour guide they have never met who is expected to take you safely around a city and avoid cars and other potential dangers of an unknown city. Vulnerability through walking opposes the power that created dominant-hegemonic perspectives of heritage and space (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004). Walking also allows one to experience space at a slower pace and sometimes at your own pace. Since memory and heritage are directly related to space, the embodiment of space will impact how history is felt and experienced by the tourist. The confluence of the embodiments of space, culture, heritage and vulnerability form the expression of the tourist experience as well as tourist space.

Conclusion


In experiencing and embodying place, tourism and the tourist city are suggested through this research to be constantly changing and in flux through the wider narratives shared, as well as the presentation of space by those who take on the role as hosts. Place and space is argued to be shaped by the larger political structures as well as everyday people who navigate their way through the city of Cape Town. Tourists and the tourism industry also co-habit this space but in a different manner. While the tourist will seek out authenticity and desire to experience a place and its realities, the tourist city does not fully map onto the non-tourist city. The tourist city is created through the mingling of imagined spaces, branded images as well as expectations of the tourist. Therefore, the tourist city can never be fully authentic or authentically experienced. Those experiences are closed off to the tourist and veiled by the host society.

Tour guides, performing the role of mediators, are partially responsible for the type of tourist city that the tourist sees. They exist between the host society and the tourist aiming to keep the tourist at ease, while identifying with the host society. The tour guide is also the gatekeeper for the ways that tourists will experience heritage and memory of a place. While not all remanences of history are visible, the tour guide becomes the site of the heritage by describing the past and creating images of place that no longer exist. The tourist is therefore responsible for imagining and reworking the past historical narrative onto the surrounding space in order to understand the memory and heritage that is presented. However, no narrative is without bias, and it is therefore imperative to understand that the background and the positionality of the tour guides are very important when understanding the depiction and description of the public landscape of memory and heritage.

Since memory and heritage are strongly linked to place, the narrative of history impacts place-making and the understanding of place. Therefore, the methods that tour guides use mediate heritage and memory are vital to place-making and how history is understood. The positionality of the tour guide impacts their understanding of history and can have an influence on their understanding of memory and heritage. Therefore, the guides narrative shapes place, but is not an unbiased account of that memory and heritage. Due to the branding of place, and preconceived expectations, guides mediate spaces by painting a picture and creating a storyline of the past that make the history more tangible. Yet, some of the sites and storylines will serve to reinforce the preconceived expectations of the host society and thus reinforce the 'tourist gaze' or branding of place. However, it is important to remember that tourists are active in


their understanding and are able to oppose certain narratives. The identity of the tourist and the tour guide are not set identities, they are constantly changing and fluid depending on the potential dynamics at the time. Therefore, while tourist cities and spaces are created, they have the ability to take on a different shape depending on those who exist within those spaces. Thus, tourists are catered towards but are also able to shape their experience within the tourist city. However, the desire to experience an authentic foreign destination may never be within the tourists reach, which points to how well the tourist niche has been forged within the host society. Therefore, the tourist identity will likely to be nurtured by the tourist niche and only by glimpses of non-tourist spaces will ever be truly experienced.

Appendix A

<p>Free Walking Tour Survey</p> <p>1. Tick one that is most relevant to you:</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> Tourist <input type="radio"/> Student <input type="radio"/> Resident <input type="radio"/> Other (please specify) <input type="text"/> </p> <p>2. Where are you from? <input type="text"/></p> <p>3. How long have you been in Cape Town?</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> 1- month <input type="radio"/> 1-4 months <input type="radio"/> 4-12 months <input type="radio"/> 12- 24 months <input type="radio"/> 2+ years </p> <p>4. Which Tour did you take?</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> Apartheid to Freedom Tour <input type="radio"/> Historic Tour <input type="radio"/> Bo-Kaap Tour <input type="radio"/> Taste of Cape Town Tour <input type="radio"/> Jewellery and Diamond Tour </p> <p>5. Which answer best suits this statement: This tour enhanced my understanding of Cape Town history.</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree <input type="radio"/> Agree <input type="radio"/> Disagree <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree <input type="radio"/> Neither agree nor disagree </p> <p>6. What's the most important thing you have learned on this tour? <input type="text"/></p>	<p>7. What did you most enjoy from this tour? <input type="text"/></p> <p>8. Are there certain aspects you would want to learn more about?</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> Yes (please specify) <input type="text"/> </p> <p>9. Have you participated in other historically oriented activities while in Cape Town?</p> <p> <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> Yes </p> <p>10. If yes, would you mind listing one? <input type="text"/></p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Thank you for your time!</i>  </p>
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Appendix A1: Copy of Survey Instrument

Appendix B

<div data-bbox="295 1227 379 1816">  <p>School for International Training @ World Learning</p> </div> <div data-bbox="411 1391 427 1653"> <p>PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT</p> </div> <div data-bbox="427 1361 448 1816"> <p>Title of the Study: <i>Historical Walking Tours: Whose History Is It Anyway?</i></p> </div> <div data-bbox="464 1556 485 1816"> <p>Researcher Name: <i>Allegra von Hirschberg</i></p> </div> <div data-bbox="501 1249 537 1816"> <p>My name is <i>Allegra von Hirschberg</i> I am a student with the <i>STI: Multiculturalism and Human Rights</i> program.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="553 1249 639 1816"> <p>I would like to invite you to participate in a study I am conducting for partial fulfillment of my as part of the <i>STI Study-Aboard</i> program in South Africa. Your participation is voluntary. Please read the information below, and ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether to participate. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and you will be given a copy of this form.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="655 1630 676 1816"> <p><u>PURPOSE OF THE STUDY</u></p> </div> <div data-bbox="692 1238 745 1816"> <p>The purpose of this study is to better understand the process of guiding a historical tour and the different factors that have to go into preparing for the tour. In addition to this I am interested to know the route that is taken by tour groups and the sites that are included on the tour.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="761 1655 780 1816"> <p><u>STUDY PROCEDURES</u></p> </div> <div data-bbox="796 1234 882 1816"> <p>Your participation will consist of answering 5-10 questions regarding the work you do at the Free Walking Tour and will require approximately 30-45 minutes of your time. With your permission, I would like to audio record the interview. However, this is not a necessary factor in my research. If you would prefer not to be recorded during this interview, your participation would still be valued.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="898 1525 919 1816"> <p><u>POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS</u></p> </div> <div data-bbox="935 1238 1005 1816"> <p>There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study and no penalties should you choose not to participate; participation is voluntary. During the interview you have the right not to answer any questions or to discontinue participation at any time both before, during and after the interview.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1021 1346 1042 1816"> <p><u>POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY</u></p> </div> <div data-bbox="1058 1234 1128 1816"> <p>Through this research participants may benefit from a discussion critically engaged in the work of historical tour guiding and the implications of such important work. There are no direct benefits to society from this research, but it may be a stepping stone to larger social research that may hopefully have a social benefit.</p> </div>	<div data-bbox="343 674 363 1039"> <p><u>PAYMENT/COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION</u></p> </div> <div data-bbox="379 472 400 1039"> <p>Participants will receive a snack and tea/coffee in exchange for their time during the interview</p> </div> <div data-bbox="416 898 437 1039"> <p><u>CONFIDENTIALITY</u></p> </div> <div data-bbox="453 472 489 1039"> <p>Participant information gained through this research will be kept on file as a document on my computer (as text or audio file) for the duration of a year and then destroyed (deleted).</p> </div> <div data-bbox="505 454 557 1039"> <p>Any identifiable information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential. The information will be accessible only to me as the researcher. My laptop is password protected and the file will remain locked with only my permissions to access it.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="572 454 659 1039"> <p>When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, identifiable information will be used in accordance to the wishes of the participant. In the event that the participant wishes to be anonymous, no identifiable information will be used in relation to the participant. Names and identifiable information will be replaced with code names (this includes addresses, and identifiable features).</p> </div> <div data-bbox="675 454 711 1039"> <p>This research will be available to the School of International Training and will only be published online with the permission of the participant.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="727 454 780 1039"> <p>This research may also be further used for the development of a senior thesis within the next year and will be available to Fassor College and might also be published online, again, allowing the permission of the participant</p> </div> <div data-bbox="812 763 833 1039"> <p><u>PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL</u></p> </div> <div data-bbox="849 472 919 1039"> <p>Your participation is voluntary. Your refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="935 472 973 1039"> <p>"I have read the above and I understand its contents and I agree to participate in the study. I acknowledge that I am 18 years of age or older."</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1003 546 1024 1039"> <p>Participant's signature _____ Date _____</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1054 546 1075 1039"> <p>Researcher's signature _____ Date _____</p> </div>
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Appendix B1: Copy of Interview Consent Form

Consent to using Identifiable information (Name, Age, etc.)

Initial one of the following to indicate your choice:

___ (initial) I agree to...
___ (initial) I do not agree to...

Consent to Quote from Interview

I may wish to quote from the interview either in the presentations or articles resulting from this work.

Initial one of the following to indicate your choice:

___ (initial) I agree to...
___ (initial) I do not agree to...

Consent to Audio-Record Interview

Initial one of the following to indicate your choice:

___ (initial) I agree to...
___ (initial) I do not agree to...

Consent to Interview being stored for future use in Senior Thesis

Initial one of the following to indicate your choice:

___ (initial) I agree to...
___ (initial) I do not agree to...

RESEARCHER'S CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or want to get more information about this study, please contact me at alvonhirschberg@vassar.edu or my advisor at emma.arogundade@sit.edu

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT – IRB CONTACT INFORMATION

In an endeavor to uphold the ethical standards of all SIT proposals, this study has been reviewed and approved by an SIT Study Abroad Local Review Board or SIT Institutional Review Board. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about your rights as a research participant or the research in general and are unable to contact the researcher please contact the Institutional Review Board at:

School for International Training
Institutional Review Board
1 Kipling Road, PO Box 676
Brattleboro, VT 05302-0676 USA
irb@sit.edu
802-258-3132



PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT

Title of the Study: Whose History is it Anyway?

Researcher Name: Allegra von Hirschberg

My name is Allegra von Hirschberg I am a student with the SIT: Multiculturalism and Human Rights program.

I would like to invite you to participate in a study I am conducting for partial fulfillment of my as part of the SIT Study Abroad program in South Africa. Your participation is voluntary. Please read the information below, and ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether to participate. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and you will be given a copy of this form.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to...better understand the ways that the information is received and taken in during a tour, as well as the participants engagement with the information that they receive on a historical tour.

STUDY PROCEDURES

Your participation will consist of 10 questions that require a mix of yes/no answers as well as short answer questions and will require approximately 5 minutes of your time.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study and no penalties should you choose not to participate; participation is voluntary. During the interview you have the right not to answer any questions or to discontinue participation at any time.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Through this research, participants may benefit from a being critically engaged in the information gained and learned from a historical walking tour.

PAYMENT/COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will receive a small token of appreciation through a small sweet or chocolate

CONFIDENTIALITY

Participant information gained through this research will be kept on file as a document on my computer for the duration of a year and then destroyed (deleted).

Any identifiable information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential the information will be accessible only to me, the researcher. My laptop is password protected and the file will remain locked with only my permissions to access it.

When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, identifiable information will be used in accordance to the wishes of the participant. In the event that the participant wishes to be anonymous, no identifiable information will be used in relation to the participant. Names and identifiable information will be replaced with code names (this includes addresses, and other identifiable features).

This research will be available to the School of International Training and will only be published online with the permission of the participant.

This research may also be further used for the development of a senior thesis within the next year and will be available to Vassar College and might also be published online, again, allowing the permission of the participant

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation is voluntary. Your refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study.

"I have read the above and I understand its contents and I agree to participate in the study. I acknowledge that I am 18 years of age or older."

By signing below, I agree to have my information used and published online:

Additionally, I agree to have my information stored and potentially used in Senior Thesis.

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's signature _____ Date _____

RESEARCHER'S CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or want to get more information about this study, please contact me at (email) or my advisor at (email)

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT – IRB CONTACT INFORMATION

In an endeavor to uphold the ethical standards of all SIT proposals, this study has been reviewed and approved by an SIT Study Abroad Local Review Board or SIT Institutional Review Board. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about your rights as a research participant or the research in general and are unable to contact the researcher please contact the Institutional Review Board at:

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Access, Use, and Publication of ISP/FSP

Student Name: Allegra Grace Wallace von Hirschberg

Email Address: alvonhirschberg@vassar.edu

Title of ISP/FSP: The Cape Town Free Walking Tours: Whose History Is It Anyway?
The shaping of place and space in a tourist city

Program and Term/Year: Multiculturalism and Human Rights, Spring/2018

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